



# THE KEYNOTER



## The Election of 1960

APIC Interview with Congressman Phil Crane

Lieberman in Connecticut • President Gerald Ford • Collecting in 1900

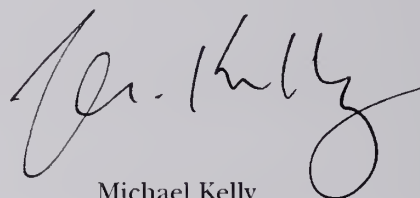
## Editor's Message

You're holding the final Keynoter of the 20th century. It includes an article about collecting Political Americana published in the October 22, 1900 issue of *The Hartford Times*. It's nice to know that even 100 years ago, our comrades were searching for the latest McKinley button. They probably took delight in meeting a fellow enthusiast and discussing the rumor that a Lincoln ferrotype sold for the outlandish price of \$5 and how Blaine badges are a glut on the market. The more things change, the more they stay the same.

It is probably appropriate that we chose to feature the 1960 race as the Gore campaign seemed eager to wrap itself in JFK's mantle during the national convention. By the time you receive this issue, it should be clear as to whether Albert Gore, Jr. managed to fulfill his father's presidential ambitions or George W. Bush retook the White House for his family. As of this writing, the two candidates are still running neck-and-neck. My own Republican leanings will surprise no one who reads this column regularly but, whoever wins, I am safe in predicting that the Republic will survive another 100 years.

It is also possible that 100 years from now – in 2100 – a collector of Political Americana will be reading these words (probably in some electronic archive) and marveling at the old days when one could buy one of those impossibly rare Carter buttons for less than \$1,200 and finally finding out the story behind that ancient Phil Crane button discovered in a flea market for just \$250.

Remember, these are going to be somebody's "good old days." Enjoy them while you're here.



Michael Kelly  
Editor



All correspondence about  
content should be addressed to:

**Editor**

Michael Kelly  
1901 Montclair Avenue  
Flint, MI 48503

All correspondence about  
mailing and copies  
should be addressed to:

**Publisher**

Joe Hayes  
P.O. Box 1149  
Cibolo, TX 78108

**Contributing Editors**

Steve Baxley  
Stephen Cresswell  
Robert Fratkin  
David Frent  
John Pendergrass  
Robert Rouse

**Contributors**

Joe Brown  
Sidney Brown  
Steve Baxley  
Christopher Byck  
Harvey Goldberg  
Mark Griffith  
Richard Rector  
Roger Stafford

**Support Services**

Germaine Broussard  
Kay Sampson Kelly

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

©2000 APIC Texas 78108  
Printed in USA by  
Lebeco Graphics

# THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Triannually

Volume 2000, Number 3

Winter 2000

**FEATURES:**

The Election of 1960 .....	Page 4
A New Frontier by a Thin Margin .....	Page 5
How Close Was It? .....	Page 7
A Century Ago .....	Page 8
Joe Lieberman of Connecticut .....	Page 10
Bush/Cheney 1992 .....	Page 12
Harding's Front Porch .....	Page 13
1976: Rule 16c .....	Page 20
President Ford's #48 .....	Page 24
The WIN Button .....	Page 25
The Ford-for-Congress Quonset Hut .....	Page 27
Recording History .....	Page 28
Harry Holds the Line .....	Page 30
Clement L. Vallandigham .....	Page 32
Matched Pairs from 1960 .....	Page 35

**DEPARTMENTS:**

APIC Interview: Congressman Phil Crane .....	Page 14
--	---------

**Illustrations:** The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Steve Baxley, Larry Brokofsky, Sidney Brown, Christopher Byck, Detroit Free Press, Dan Duncan, Bonnie Gardner, Harvey Goldberg, Mark Griffith, Theodore Hake, Chick Harris, Brad Koplinski, Jeff MacNelly, Skip Morgan, Gary Potter, Richard Rector, Roger Stafford, Mike Thompson, University of Michigan and Nelson Whitman.

**Covers: Front:** MAD magazine covers from November 1960. Knowing the race would be close, MAD published its front and back covers in reversible Nixon and Kennedy versions. **Back:** Blue and Black poster from the 1980 Phil Crane presidential bid.



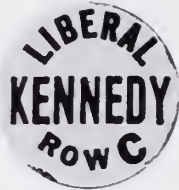
# THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF 1960



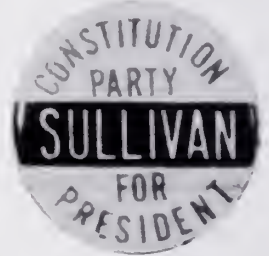
DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
(Kennedy and Johnson)  
34,227,096  
(303)



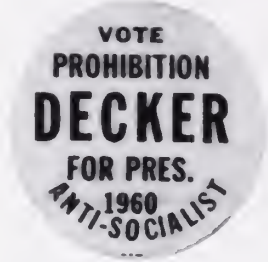
REPUBLICAN PARTY  
(Nixon and Lodge)  
34,108,546  
(219)



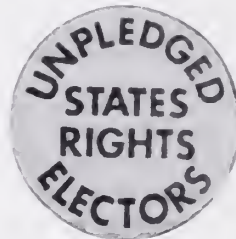
LIBERAL PARTY  
(Kennedy & Johnson)



CONSTITUTION OF TEXAS  
(Sullivan and Curtis)  
18,169



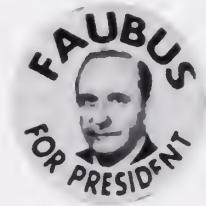
PROHIBITION PARTY  
(Decker and Munn)  
46,203



UNPLEDGED ELECTORS  
(Harry F. Byrd)  
462,575  
(15)



SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
(Dobbs and Weiss)  
39,541



NATIONAL STATES' RIGHTS  
(Faubus & Crommelin)  
(214,549)



SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY  
(Hass and Cozzini)  
47,522



OUTER SPACE PARTY  
(Green and Brown)



CHURCH OF GOD PARTY  
(Tomlinson & Teague)



GREENBACK PARTY  
(Slocumb and Meador)



AMERICAN THIRD PARTY  
(Henry Krajewski)

CONSERVATIVE OF NEW JERSEY candidates were J. Bracken Lee and Kent H. Courtney. (8708 votes)  
CONSERVATIVE OF VIRGINIA candidates were C. Benton Coiner and Edward Silverman. (4204 votes)  
TAX CUT PARTY candidates were Lar J. S. Daly and Bryan M. Miller. (1767 votes)  
AFRO-AMERICAN PARTY candidates were Clennon King and Reginald Carter. (1485 votes)  
CONSTITUTION OF U.S.A. candidates were Merritt B. Curtis and Bryan M. Miller. (1401 votes)  
AMERICAN VEGETARIAN candidates were Symon Gould and Christopher Gian-Cursio.  
ROCKING CHAIR PARTY candidates were Connie Watts and Ralph Raper.  
MANKINDS' ASSEMBLY candidate was Lewis Bertrand; INDEPENDENTS were Wm. L. Smith; Agnes Waters.



# 1960: A New Frontier by a Thin Margin

By Harvey Goldberg



John F. Kennedy's campaign slogan for 1960 was "*The New Frontier*." This was true in many different ways. It was a watershed – an electoral divide – that changed America and Americans forever. One reporter commented early on that the '60 election would be a dividing line as America left the middle of the 20th Century and began to look ahead toward the 21st. In retrospect, this was true. Entering the 1960's, there was a sense of looking ahead toward the next century. Although candidates made use of their service records during World War II and Korea, many wished to look ahead rather than dwell on the past.

The two major party frontrunners, John Kennedy and then-Vice President Richard Nixon, were both of the "New Breed," the "Young Warriors," the "New Leaders." They were the first presidential candidates (other than Thomas Dewey) born in the 20th Century. Both were Navy veterans of World War II. About six months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Nixon was assigned to the South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command on New Caledonia as an operations officer. Kennedy's participation in the World War II Navy earned him a place in history when his boat, PT-109, was rammed and sunk by a Japanese destroyer. Kennedy was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Medal for heroism in saving injured crew members.

The two were also friends at one time, serving together as freshmen Congressmen. Their public lives had begun at the same time. Both were elected to the House of Representatives in 1946 and re-elected in 1948. Nixon was elected to the Senate in 1950 and Kennedy in 1952. But here the parallels ended. Their goals and ideals were separated by party and by personality.

Ironically, it may have been the GOP itself that may have helped determine the outcome of this election. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was among the most popular of any candidate in the history of his party, would possibly have won a third term. His popularity was still greater than most of the Republican hopefuls. But, in their desire to prevent another long-term Democratic White House resident like Franklin D. Roosevelt, the GOP pushed through the 22nd Amendment in 1947, which limited a president to two consecutive

terms of office. The bill became law in 1951 after ratification by the states. Who do you think might have won an Eisenhower-Kennedy campaign?

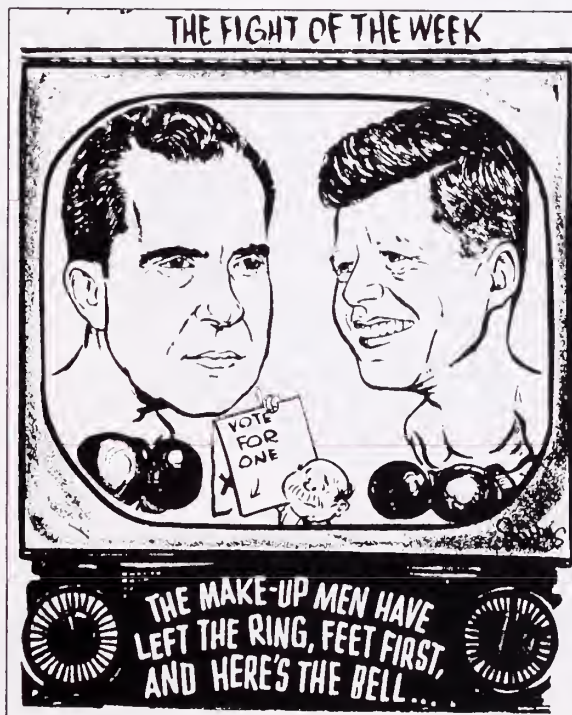
Democratic hopefuls saw Kennedy win a string of ten consecutive primaries. He out-pollled fellow Senators Hubert Humphrey, Stuart Symington, and Wayne Morse, Governor Pat Brown, Adlai Stevenson, and a number of favorite sons. Vice President Nixon was equally successful against Nelson Rockefeller, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Barry Goldwater - all of whom were write-in candidates - and a host of unpledged delegates.

Kennedy accepted the nomination of the Democratic Party at the July National Convention in Los Angeles with the statement that "We stand today on the edge of a New Frontier, the frontier of the 1960's – the frontier of the unknown opportunities and perils, the frontier of unfilled hopes and unfilled threats. The New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises. It is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to offer to the American people but what I intend to ask of them." This was a preview of the so often quoted statement in his Inaugural Address six months later: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." Vice President Richard Nixon was nominated in Chicago by the Republicans two weeks later with much less fanfare.

The choices of running mates were surprising. Kennedy selected his most vocal critic on the primary trail,

Lyndon Johnson of Texas. The importance of LBJ's power in the South could not be underestimated. The Lodge family were long-time opponents of the Kennedys in Massachusetts. This set the stage for Henry Cabot Lodge as Nixon's running mate. This may have been one of the few times a presidential candidate on one ticket and a vice presidential candidate on the opposing ticket came from the same state.

As they hit the campaign trail, Nixon may have made a fatal mistake. He promised "a 50-state campaign" as he accepted the nomination of his party. "I pledge to you that I personally will carry this campaign into every one of the fifty states between now and November eighth!" The Vice President believed in a rigid structure to his campaign, leaving him-





self little room for changes or flexibility. In August, Nixon injured his knee and spent two weeks in the hospital, losing valuable time. This also left him in a relatively poor physical condition that did not improve as the campaign moved ahead.

In the first ten days of his campaign, Senator Kennedy developed his "style" and "theme." He adjusted his speech, being able to change it from state to state and city to city. Eventually he was able to easily insert personal comments that fit each stopover. The eventual weariness was overcome by a sense of drive and determination. The Kennedy wit and humor came out in full bloom. Nixon, in the first week and a half of his campaign, had stopped in more than half a dozen states. His energy seemed endless. Less than two weeks into the campaign, the Harris Poll showed him leading Kennedy 53% to 47%. The spirit in the Nixon camp soared.

Both camps identified states that would be "mutual battlegrounds." They included California, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Michigan. Where the campaign strategies differed was in style. The Nixon theory of a paced, rigid, pre-determined campaign differed from Kennedy's flat-out run all the way. The Vice President planned a low key style of confidence and optimism after his initial tour of widespread and brief visits. The so-called stage second (after Labor Day) would be to 'take off the kid gloves' and step up his attack. Finally, the last three weeks or so, he would let loose with everything: TV, media advertising, and personal appearances.

The debates were the first ever. No major party presidential candidates had debated each other face-to-face before. This was the climactic event of the 1960 campaign - except for Election Night itself. The series of four debates were held September 26, October 7, 13, and 21, 1960 in



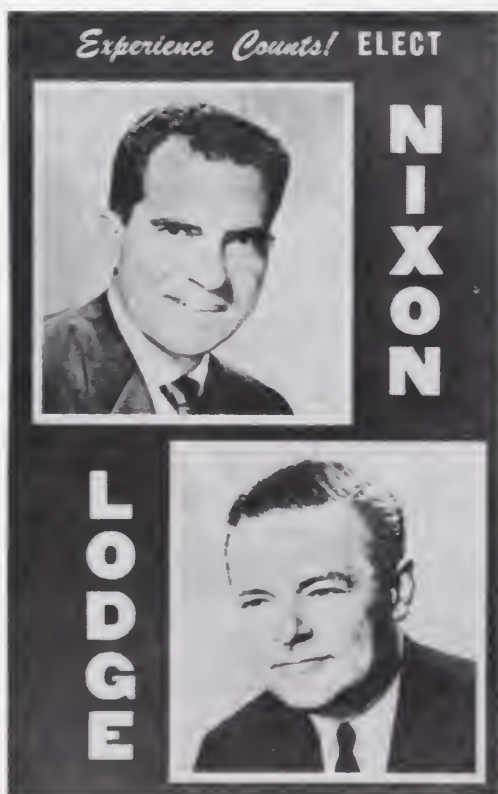
Chicago, Washington, and New York (twice). By 1960, the vast majority of American homes had television. Kennedy had found his medium. He appeared fit, tanned, and energetic. Nixon felt uncomfortable in front of a camera. He looked haggard, worn, and tired. Appearances made the difference. People who viewed the debates on TV gave Kennedy the edge while those hearing on radio leaned toward the Vice President. Nixon "debated" Kennedy. JFK addressed himself to the audience and voters. In reality, these debates did nothing to clarify issues, answers, and differences. People forgot the arguments and remembered the images.

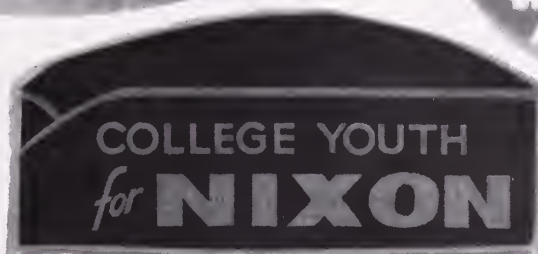
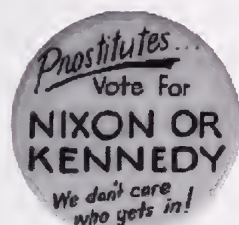
Actually, two basic issues helped decide the election. First was religion. Kennedy faced it head-on, coming out for absolute separation of church and state, and against aid to parochial schools. Then there was the Civil Rights issue. When Dr. Martin Luther King was arrested in October, Kennedy offered his influence and support. This was probably key in getting King released. Nixon remained silent on the matter. And, when the Vice President repudiated a statement by his running mate about "a black being appointed to the cabinet if they were elected", it helped swing the African-American vote to Kennedy.

Nixon had hoped that President Eisenhower would campaign for him. After all, the ever popular Ike was still a favorite. But this was not the case. Aside from a few appearances and photo ops, there was no real campaign effort on Ike's part. The popularity did not rub off on his vice president.

In addition, Nixon was fulfilling his "50-state campaign" pledges by visiting Alaska, Idaho, and Montana (11 Electoral Votes). Kennedy campaigned again in Michigan, Illinois, and Minnesota (58 Electoral Votes).

It all came down to election night. Americans voted on November 8, 1960. This was the closest presidential elec-





tion in American history up to that time. The results were not known until the next day. By the slimmest of margins – less than 120,000 votes – John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected as the 35th President of the United States. He had garnered less than half of the popular vote, but had succeeded in the Electoral College. This was no landslide victory, but a victory just the same.★

## How Close Was It?

By Harvey Goldberg

Aside from students of history and members of the American Political Items Collectors, few remember that John Kennedy was elected in 1960 as a minority president, receiving less than 50% of the popular vote. The Democrats out-pollied the Republicans by 118,550 out of 68,838,979 votes cast. Other candidates received 503,337 votes.

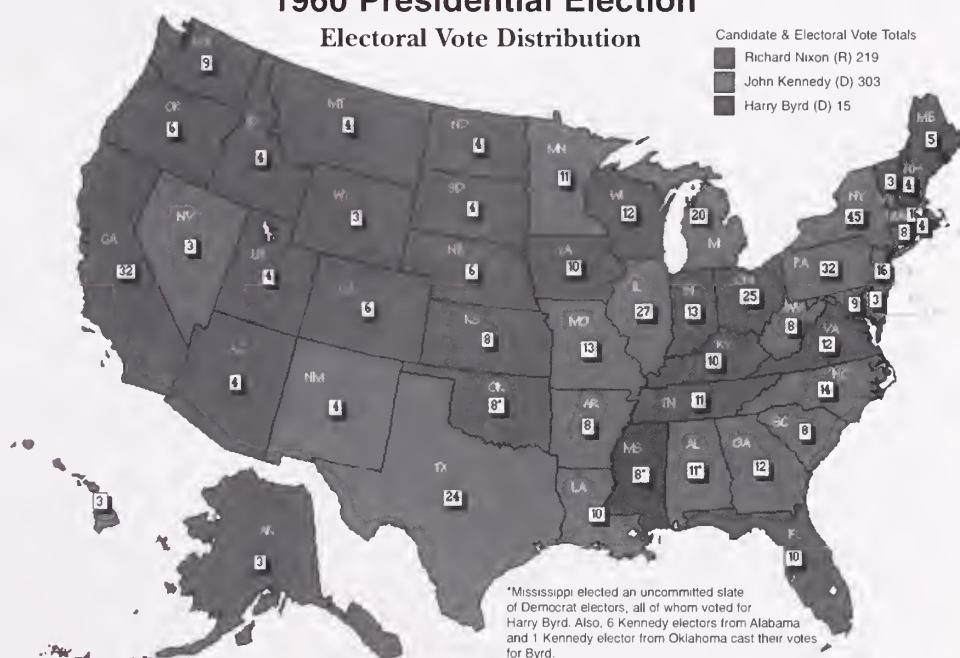
In the Electoral College, the margin was 303 for Kennedy, 219 for Nixon. Unpledged electors gave Harry Byrd 15 votes. A total of 270 electoral votes were needed to win in 1960.

Kennedy received 33 more than he needed and Nixon fell 51 votes short. The key to those 51 votes lay in four Southern states that went to Kennedy (and Johnson) by a very small margin: Texas (24), North Carolina (14), Arkansas and South Carolina (8 each): a total of 54. Had these states gone to Nixon, he would have become president instead.

Outside the South, Kennedy carried some states by minute margins: Missouri (14 electoral votes) by 9,980 out of 1.93 million votes, Illinois (27 electoral votes) by 8,858 out of 4.75 million, and Pennsylvania (32) by 116,123 out of 5.1 million votes cast. He won Hawaii's 3 electoral ballots by 115 popular votes. But the key had been in the south.

Had Nixon carried those four states, with a shift of less than 12,000 votes, his total of 273 electoral votes would have won. That's how close it was.★

### 1960 Presidential Election Electoral Vote Distribution





# A CENTURY AGO: Collecting Political Americana in 1900

(Submitted by Joe Brown)

This article is reprinted from October 22, 1900 issue of *The Hartford Daily Times*. It is amazing to realize as this century draws to a close (the new century doesn't really begin until 2001) that our hobby was already established 100 years ago.)

The custom of wearing a badge, medal, button or other insignia showing the political sentiments of the wearer is nearly as old as the freedom of the country. One sees them on all sides, but they lack the characteristics which marked those of fifty years or more ago. Away back in the days of Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Pierce and Lincoln medals and coins were struck off, some of them made to hang from a ribbon, others carried in the pocket only. Some of those old "tokens," as they were sometimes called, are to be found in collections of coins, public and private, but as a rule only a few are owned by any one person and those dating back to Washington's time are indeed rare. Edmund J. Cleveland of No. 191 Sigourney street has a collection dating back 100 years. The Washington buttons were large, brass disks, elaborately engraved; the campaign buttons of today are cheap and common, but had they then existed they would have been considered works of art and of value.

It is claimed that comparatively few McKinley and Bryan buttons are worn this year, and that this is one of the significant facts that show that there is a lack of real live interest in the present Presidential campaign.

When Washington was elected President, as there was no opposing candidate, the campaign was also lacking in enthusiasm. However, several people showed their loyalty



The two upper illustrations are those of Jackson tokens; the second two of General William Henry Harrison, and the last of Jackson again.



Washington Button



Washington Button

to the unanimously elected President by wearing buttons sewed on the coat having the inscription "G. W., Long Live the President," or "Remember March 4, 1789," the date of Washington's inauguration. These buttons are much sought after by collectors.

The buttons for the campaigns up to the time of Jackson were either complimentary or of a purely imper-

sonal character. The nomination of Jackson however, called forth numerous medals and badges, on which were political and personal allusions. Andrew Jackson was designated as the "Hero of New Orleans." However, after his election pieces were struck off referring to the abolition of the United States Bank and the Nullification Act. The figure of a hog, with the motto, "Perish Credit," "Perish Commerce," "Down With the Bank," etc., suggests that his policy was not universally approved. Others have the well-known inscription, "The Union Must and Shall Be Preserved." When Jackson was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by Harvard University, a great surprise was manifested, as Jackson was considered an illiterate man. Soon a medal appeared having the figure of a Jackson with LL. D. stamped on it. It is very probable that these pieces would not have been so widely circulated if there had not been a scarcity of small change at that time. Later on, during the Civil War, copper pieces made by private parties served a similar purpose.





Other Jackson Tokens

The badges of the campaign preceding the election of Martin Van Buren also refer to the currency laws, bearing pictures of safes, etc.

General William Henry Harrison was a popular favorite for the Presidential chair and badges with the log cabin and the inscription, "The Hero of Tippecanoe" were numerous.

The well-known cognomen, "Rough and Ready," appears on the buttons supporting the candidacy of



Van Buren Token

Zachary Taylor. The motto, "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," appears on a badge of Franklin E. Pierce. This shows the growing feeling for and against secession. A motto similar in sentiment appears on a medal of James Buchanan: "No Sectionalism."

An interesting medal of the campaign of 1860 is that of the "Hartford Wide-Awakes." Organized in Hartford, branches extended into almost every city of the Northern



Franklin Pierce Token

States. As is probably known to many of the readers of this paper, it was one of the first drilled marching clubs in the country. Another interesting medal of this time bears the head of Lincoln on one side and on the other a figure of a man splitting rails, referring to Lincoln as "The Rail Splitter."



Zachary Taylor Token

The badges for the succeeding campaigns were of the conventional character, until the last three or four. Political souvenirs of almost every description have appeared. Locketts, hearts, pins and buttons are a few of



The left illustration is of a Buchanan token; the middle one Thomas Jefferson, and the right one that of the Hartford Wide Awakes.



Reverse of Lincoln Token, 1860, The "Rail Splitter"



First Grant Campaign

the many articles on which is the head of the favorite candidate. In 1896 miniature coffins were used as buttons. The inscriptions on these were of a highly disparaging character to the "other" candidate.

One of the curious badges of the present campaign is a head. You are invited to touch the prong on the button and the chin will drop. If silver gilded, in its mouth you see "16 to 1"; if gold, you see the word "Trusts."

The character of the campaign badges and documents would alone be sufficient to prove that the United States is a free-speaking and in a great many respects a free-acting country.★

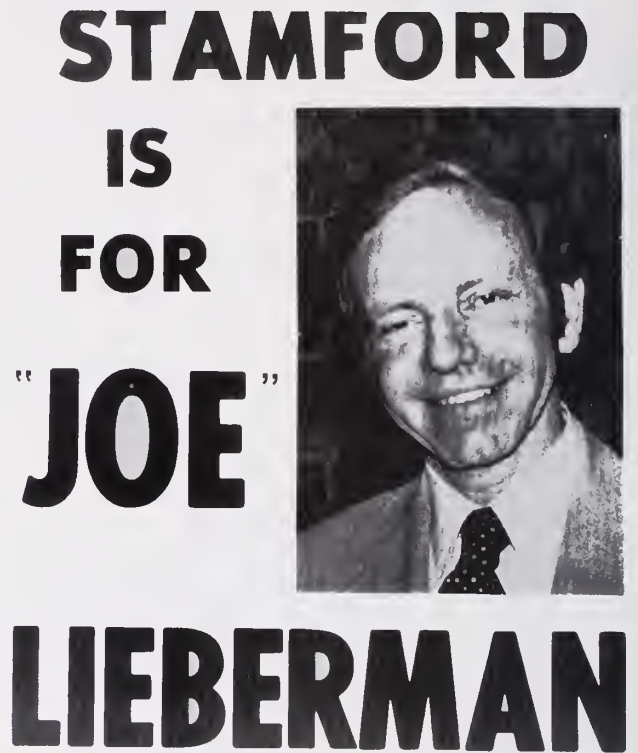
# Joe Lieberman of Connecticut

By Michael Kelly

When Al Gore picked Joe Lieberman as his running mate, he picked someone with a political track record spanning three decades. First elected to Connecticut's State Senate in 1970, Lieberman served ten years in that body before failing in a 1978 bid for Lt. Governor and an unsuccessful congressional race in 1980. He quickly recovered by winning the post of state Attorney General in 1982, a post he held until 1988 when he challenged liberal Republican Lowell Weicker for the U.S. Senate. Lieberman outflanked the maverick Weicker by running to his right, an unusual trick for a New England Democrat (Lieberman's 1988 material prominently featured an American flag).

He upset Weicker by a narrow margin. Weicker went on to make a political comeback several years later when he bolted the GOP and was elected governor as an independent but Lieberman became a very popular senator and won re-election easily in 1994.

Even as he ran as the 2000 Democratic nominee for Vice President, Sen. Lieberman covered his bet by also seeking re-election to his U.S. Senate seat back home in



Like most national political figures, Joe Lieberman didn't arrive on the national scene overnight. His US Senate seat and eventual vice presidential nomination came after decades of political activity in his home state of Connecticut.



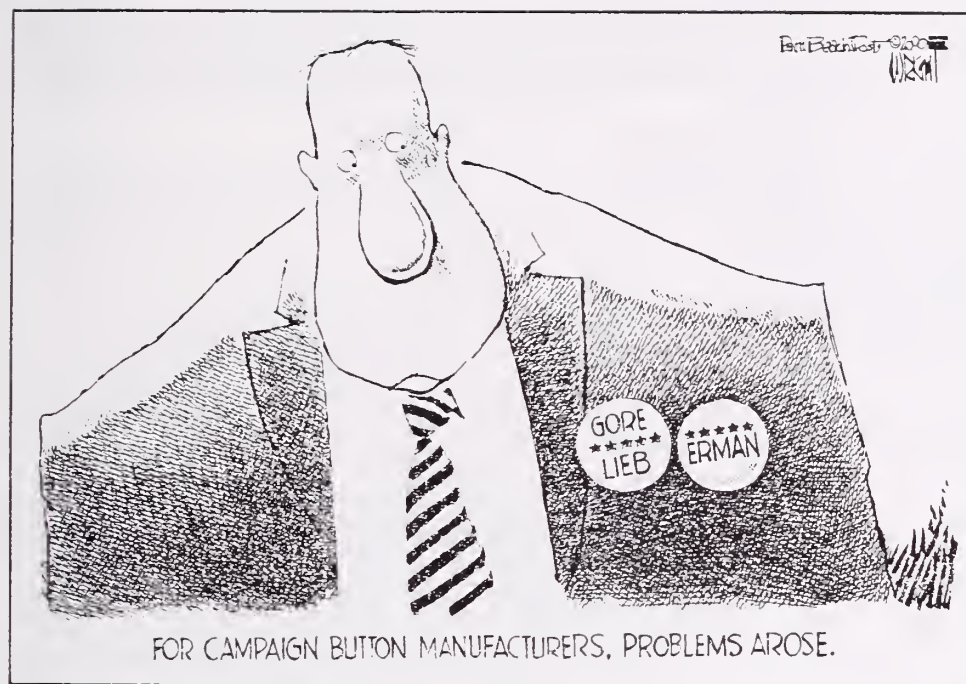
Buttons from Joe Lieberman's early political career in Connecticut: two state senate buttons (white on blue and blue on white); two from his 1978 race for Lt. Governor (yellow on blue); unknown race (blue on yellow) and "Joe's running!" button from 1978 Lt. Governor race.



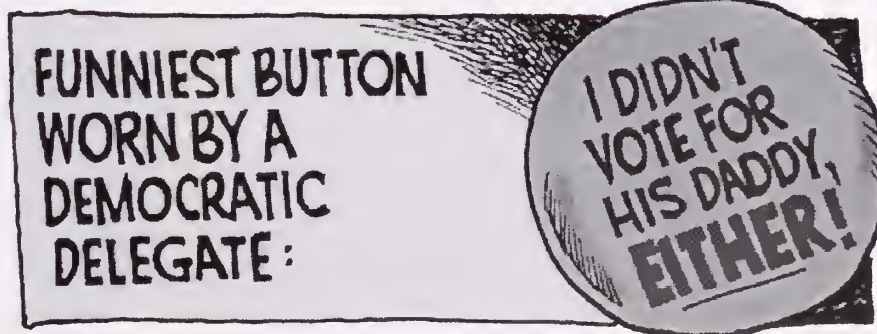
Connecticut at the same time. It was a trick that had been used successfully down in Texas in 1960 by Lyndon Johnson, who simultaneously ran for VP and Senator on

the same ballot.

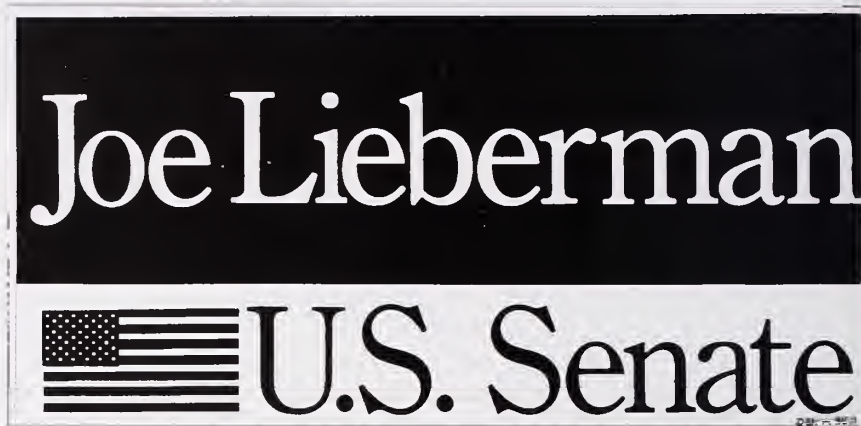
APIC member Gary W. Potter submitted the local Joe Lieberman items featured in this article.★



MIKE THOMPSON



Top: RWB bumper sticker from 1980 congressional bid. Upper right: two RWB buttons from 1980. Lower left: Blue and gray on white button from Lieberman's state Attorney General re-election race.



Top: RWB 1980 congressional bumper sticker. Left: Joe Lieberman senatorial buttons (1994 above, 1988 below). Upper right: 1988 bumper sticker. Below: 2000 senatorial button. Sen. Lieberman chose to run for re-election as well as Vice President in 2000.



## Bush/Cheney 1992



It doesn't look like much of a button. Cheaply made, poorly designed and obviously aimed at collectors and convention-goers, the humble black-on-light blue celluloid is part of a set of buttons made featuring a variety of vice presidential hopefuls who hoped to replace Vice President Dan Quayle on the GOP ticket in 1992. However, President George Bush didn't drop Quayle from his ticket that year and the button went off to the \$1 boxes with its companion buttons like

Bush/Simpson, Bush/Gingrich, Bush/Alexander, Bush/DuPont, Bush/Robertson, Bush/Kemp and Bush/Dole.

What makes this modest button an object of historical interest is that the Bush/Cheney button features President George Bush with then-Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. Eight years later, Cheney would wind up on lots of Bush/Cheney buttons, but teamed with Gov. George W. Bush instead of his father.

It may just be a vendor button but it may also be the only button in history featuring the same VP candidate with the father of the presidential candidate with whom he would later run.★



# Even Harding's Front-porch Photo was Flawed

By Roger Stafford

Few presidential campaigns have been as successful as Warren G. Harding's in 1920. It resembled the well-orchestrated campaigns half a century later when political operatives successfully conducted plastic surgery on equally blemished candidates.

Harding's classic front-porch campaign, orchestrated by his wife and patterned after the campaigns of fellow Ohio Republicans William McKinley and James Garfield, has remained the one positive remembrance of a career that began spiraling downward the moment Harding stepped into the White House.

By most accounts, Harding's wife and campaign managers made sure only positive images were associated with the front porch. There was, however, one minor problem with the most widely disseminated photo of Harding pontificating from his porch in Marion, Ohio.

Carl S. Anthony, in his exceptional biography of Florence Kling Harding, calls Harding's front porch campaign "the first time photography was manipulated as a political tool. Numerous posed shots were taken as proofs for the one perfect 'activity' shot to be distributed weekly by the Republican headquarters to newspapers and magazines."

"The strategy," says Anthony, "was to 'picturize' the Hardings, whether 'hauling Old Glory to the masthead' of McKinley's flagpole, now transplanted to the Harding lawn, or sitting on the porch – a picture used in the *National Property Owners Magazine*."

Anthony's extensive research showed that thousands of groups, associations and clubs sought an invitation to see and hear the candidate on his front porch. While his opponent, Ohio Governor James Cox, traveled throughout the country in search of support, Harding stayed home on his porch, often joined by celebrities such as General Black Jack Pershing and actress Lillian Russell.

At the beginning of the 1920 campaign, however, the crowds in front of the porch were composed



of Harding's fellow Marionites. Encyclopedias in the ensuing decades usually chose one of those photos to illustrate the most positive symbol of Harding's political career.

The accompanying photo is that often-used front porch shot. Near the porch are two youngsters, an eight-year-old girl with long, red curls and a 10-year-old boy wearing a beanie and seemingly more interested in the photographer than the candidate. It was only natural that they should be up front. After all, their father was a successful Marion businessman and a former Marion County officeholder.

Their father, however, was John J. Stafford, a staunch Democrat in a city whose politics had often leaned that way prior to the election of Harding to the Senate.

Front-porch operatives undoubtedly screened the photo to make sure the buttons on George Stafford's beanie and Mary Jo's dress were indistinguishable. Indeed, Mary Jo later told a friend that one of Harding's campaign workers asked her to turn around so the political button pinned on her dress could not be seen.

The Staffords – represented by George and Mary Jo – were supporters of Democratic Governor Cox. They proudly wore their Cox buttons in the front row of the most widely distributed picture of the last successful GOP front-porch campaign.★

(Roger Stafford is the son of George Stafford, who died in 1983. Roger's aunt, Mary Jo Stafford, died July 29, 1999. She often told friends of her family's role in the famous photo, but the story has never been printed. Unfortunately for Roger [APIC # 8924], not even one of the Cox buttons worn that day was preserved!)





# “The Early Bird”: Phil Crane for President ’80

(A Keynoter interview by Richard Rector)

Congressman Phil Crane was born on November 3, 1930 in Chicago, son of prominent doctor George Crane, known for a radio program and a nationally syndicated newspaper advice column. In 1964, while a history professor at Bradley University, he entered politics with the Goldwater campaign.

In 1969, Congressman Donald Rumsfeld (himself a presidential hopeful in 1988) resigned his seat to join the Nixon administration. With the backing of other Goldwater supporters, Phil Crane won the special election for the vacant House seat. In 1977, he became Chairman of the American Conservative Union and was one of the leaders in the fight against the Panama Canal Treaty.

On August 2, 1978, Crane announced his candidacy for the 1980 Republican Presidential nomination. It was the earliest presidential announcement in history (a record that still stands) and earned him the nickname “The Early Bird.” He placed fifth in a crowded field, receiving a total of 105,020 votes across the country. While that may not seem like much, Crane still ran ahead of Bob Dole and John Connolly that year. When the Republicans took over the House of Representatives in 1994, Crane became the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Trade.

*Keynoter:* Tell us about your election to Congress in 1969?

*Crane:* I was in the process of writing another book. I thought, I have a year off and this was only a three-month investment. It would be an interesting hands-on experience to take back into the classroom, so I got in the race. There were thirteen candidates who announced, eleven who filed. I had campaigned in that area in the Goldwater campaign and those people had been solid Goldwater supporters in '64. But after Goldwater got buried, [Congressman Donald] Rumsfeld tended to soften his positions a little bit. So I wanted to remind those people that they had done the right thing in '64: “Keep the faith, we are going to carry on.” I enjoyed the campaign, not with the expectation of winning but that it would be an interesting experience. As it turned out, we won it. There was no thrill like the victory party that night but the next morning it was something else. I got out of bed and I thought “Good grief! What have I done! This isn't a frivolous commitment you make.”

I thought I would hang in there until 1976 because I was sure that in '76 we were going to elect Reagan President and take the House and the Senate. Unfortunately Watergate set us back considerably. So all you do is dig in your heels and fight the good fight. It only took us until 1994 to finally take control of the House. At any rate, that's how I got into that kind of politics. I had been actively involved in campaigning for candidates but what really turned me on was Goldwater.

*Keynoter:* Why did you seek the Republican presidential nomination in 1980?

*Crane:* Because I had busted my hump with other Goldwater friends in Miami to try and get Reagan that nomination in 1968. Reagan would not announce because he had just been elected Governor in '66. He wasn't a candidate. It was only our liberal New Yorker, Nelson Rockefeller, versus Nixon. They were the only two choices. Reagan finally became a candidate when he set foot on the ground in Miami but it was a little late. Our troops were already divided; half of them had already committed to Nixon to make sure

Rockefeller didn't make it. So we struggled to get Reagan that nomination. Unfortunately it wasn't viable and we got Nixon. That didn't melt my butter but at least I thought we could live with it. We couldn't even do that as it turned out.

All of our Goldwater organizations in the Midwest were still in touch, still conspiring. We then decided we would get Reagan the nomination in '76. Of course, we didn't see necessarily what was going to happen, nor did I anticipate that Jerry Ford would go for it. The biggest heartbreak I have ever experienced was at that convention when Reagan didn't get it.

The reason I got in, in 1980, was I was fearful that Reagan would wait until late '79 and then say [here Crane did his famous Reagan impression], “Well, mommy and I have decided to retire on the ranch and we want to thank you all





# the Early Bird

# CRANE

PAID FOR BY CRANE FOR PRESIDENT

for the support, but..." (general laughter)

I figured he was going to pull that on us. I had no name ID and I did not like the alternative candidates in the race. I thought Reagan might slip and, if he did, I was there to inherit the his crowd. I was the only other conservative in the race. In fact, I was to the right of Reagan. One of the things that was positive about the race was that Reagan was being counseled to not get into some of these controversial issues. I was responding to the media on all of them and they would go to Reagan and say "Crane says he believes in such-and-such. Where do you stand?" and he and I were on the same wavelength.

But what happened in New Hampshire was that on the Wednesday before the primary the poll in the Boston papers showed me beating Baker for third place 16% to 15% while Reagan was losing to Bush 35% to 34%. I think it was by one point. When the tally finally came in, I had dropped to 2% and Reagan went over 50%. It was the people that had gotten on board with me that panicked because Bush in those days was the Northeastern liberal establishment candidate.

So it didn't really break my heart and I stayed on until we

got through the Illinois primary only because, in Illinois, after the name of a delegate candidate is the name of the candidate they support and all of those with my name after their's were going to take a bath. So I had an obligation to take a bath with them.

*Keynoter:* You participated in all of the nationally televised Republican Presidential debates. How do you feel about your performance in those debates?

*Crane:* I was satisfied with them and I liked the debates too. I enjoyed them.

*Keynoter:* Campaign chroniclers describe your strategy as positioning yourself as a young Ronald Reagan in the belief that the age issue would derail Reagan's candidacy. Is that an accurate picture?

*Crane:* No, it wasn't a thing on the age issue, but I did view myself as the young Ronald Reagan — actually a young Goldwater. Goldwater was the one who really laid the foundation for Reagan's candidacy.

*Keynoter:* Can you tell us about the famous New Hampshire debate between Reagan and Bush, the "I paid for this microphone" debate?

*Crane:* We were in a big gymnasium and it was packed. Reagan had counseled all of us to get all of our volunteers there and they were hanging over the railing. The whole place was packed. Then they announced that "No, Bush was the one who had helped to orchestrate this and it was to just be him and Reagan." We said "that's not proper - all the candidates have to be involved." They said, "No, It was a private thing, sponsored by Bush" in effect, so we weren't going to be allowed to participate.

So Reagan sat it out and the rest of us took off at their insistence. That was the beginning of the end. I didn't really mind it. I tell you with the advantage of hindsight, I thank the good Lord I never made it. I mean it. If you've got kids, I can't think of a worse fate then pulling that tour of duty, because you will never have any privacy the rest of your life. I like those Secret Service guys, but a little bit goes along way. (laughs)

*Keynoter:* There is a story that the Reagan campaign actually invited the other candidates. What is the real story?

*Crane:* He did, he did. He told us to come and I flew up from Florida. Guys were flying up from everywhere. We were all excited. We were all going to have this opportunity to participate. It was a week or not much more then a week before the primary and we thought that would be an exciting time. So we were all busting our humps from Boston. We were dri-



Rep. Phil Crane with Richard Rector at their Keynoter interview.

ving up there lickity-split and I remember that night. The other guys went into the gym and were really beating up on Bush with a vengeance. They came to me and asked me what I had to say. I said, "It's unfortunate that we didn't get to participate." They said "Is that all you have to say?" I'm not into that sort of thing but some of our guys really took advantage of the opportunity.

When we got to Illinois, it was down to John Anderson, George Bush, Reagan and me and I was only there, as I said, because I had to take a bath with the troops. I told Reagan that I would rally them all for him after we got through the Illinois Primary. But we were all on the platform and I said to John Anderson "You know, John, I've always respected you. You are an intelligent man. You and I used to agree on a lot of issues." (He went flaky over time) But I said "we used to agree on a lot of issues. We can have honest disagreements, that's understandable but something I do not understand is that you sent endorsement letters [for three liberal Democratic Senators up for election that year]. That goes beyond our intramural disagreements. Why don't you acknowledge that you have left the Party?" He didn't have anything to say but two weeks after that, he did leave the Party.

*Keynoter:* It is unusual for two house members from the same state to seek the Presidency at the same time. Were you surprised by John Anderson's entry and were you surprised when he later ran as an independent?



Above: Various 1980 Crane buttons. Left: At an early GOP straw poll, Crane used a large industrial crane to gain name recognition. Below: Bumper sticker.







# CRANE • PRESIDENT • 1980

5600 COLUMBIA PIKE, SUITE 200, BAILEY'S CROSSROADS, VA 22041 • 703/931-4800

## PHIL CRANE FOR PRESIDENT



"America needs a new leader with a new vision and a new sense of purpose. America needs someone to reaffirm our traditional values and provide decisive leadership."

Congressman Philip M. Crane  
August 2, 1978



Top: 1980 campaign letterhead. Above: During his Keynoter interview, Rep. Crane shows one of his 1980 presidential newspaper ads. Left: 1980 brochure. Bottom: Bumper sticker.

# CRANE • PRESIDENT • 1980



Although Crane never sought the Presidency again after his 1980 effort, his congressional campaign continued to make free use of campaign buttons. To the left is a large 8 x 10 booklet from one of his races for re-election. Below are two plastic bottle caps.







***At Last:  
A Man Who Can  
Lead America***

**PHILIP  
CRANE  
FOR  
PRESIDENT**

*Crane:* Well, no I wasn't surprised because John had, in effect, left the Party. When he was here, John very definitely believed strongly in what he was endorsing but he had left the Party for all practical purposes. So, while he wore a Republican label, he was not a Republican any more. It was ironic because John had been a good conservative Republican when he first got elected. When I first came here, he and I were on the same wavelength but he went off the edge. I don't know what happened. (laughs) There were three Illinoisans in that race; me, John Anderson and Ronnie. (chuckle) The thing that was interesting is that Ronald Reagan was the middle-of-the-roader. I was to the right, and John Anderson to the left, and Ronnie in the middle. (laughs)

*Keynoter:* James Garfield was the only President to come directly from the House. Why do you think House members have a hard time making the jump to national office?

*Crane:* One is name identification. We don't get the platform that they get over there in the Senate, for example. Governor's get even more if they are doing a good job and playing a role that sets an example beyond their own state. But I think House members – out of 435 – are largely buried over here. Even in your home state, unless you have traveled the state a lot, you are not well identified.

*Keynoter:* Do you have a favorite President, or one with a special resonance for you?

*Crane:* I admire George Washington the most of all because he truly set the good example and recognized the importance of everything he did would have a lasting effect. That people would harken back and say "Well, George Washington did this" or "George Washington said that" and therefore that's what you should do too." He was not a man who aspired to political office. He took it and anticipated quitting after four years tour of duty. They leaned on him and he reluctantly agreed to go ahead with another four years. George Washington played the most critical role historically in our entire national experience in the Presidency. But there are others I admire. Jefferson I admire. Madison I admire. Lincoln I admire. In the twentieth century, I'd say Ronnie Reagan.

*Keynoter:* After your Presidential campaign, many people assumed you would run for Governor or US Senate. Why did you choose to remain in the House?

*Crane:* Well, as I've tried to explain to people, to serve in the Senate is a step down (chuckle) and I explained about the White House. I thank the good Lord I never made that. I would not really want that responsibility and what goes with it. On the Senate side, what I've tried to explain to folks is that Senators do not represent the people. We are the people's body and that's why the founding fathers made us stand for election every two years: to be accountable for what we do. We are the closest to the folks back home. The Senate is detached from it and it was intended to be that way. We are the democratic body. They are the aristocratic body and the monarchic body is the White House. Truly what they put together was that combination of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy.

*Keynoter:* Thank you very much.

*Crane:* My pleasure. ★



# 1976: Rule 16C

By Mark Griffith



1976 was a watershed year for American politics. America was celebrating its Bicentennial; had just lost the Viet Nam War; was on the heels of Watergate and the Nixon pardon; and an unelected president was running to legitimize his selection as the 38th President.

Early on, Ronald Reagan, whose name had been placed in nomination in 1968, decided to take on Gerald Ford in the primaries. He presented himself as a conservative alternative to Ford, who was considered more of a moderate. The primaries were rather brutal, with Ford and Reagan both racking up impressive numbers of delegates, yet neither able to reach the magic number 1130 that was needed to secure the nomination. By July 18, the last of the convention states had selected their delegates. President Ford had a total of 1102 and Reagan had 1063. Ninety-four delegates remained uncommitted. In addition, there were between 50 and 100 delegates pledged to Ford who might be persuaded to change sides given the right incentive.

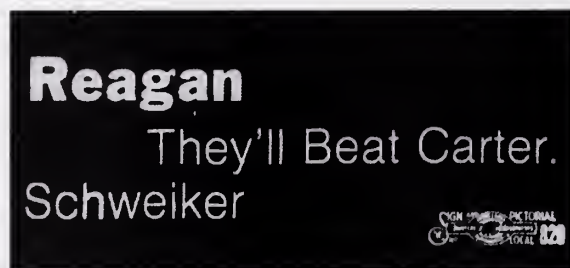
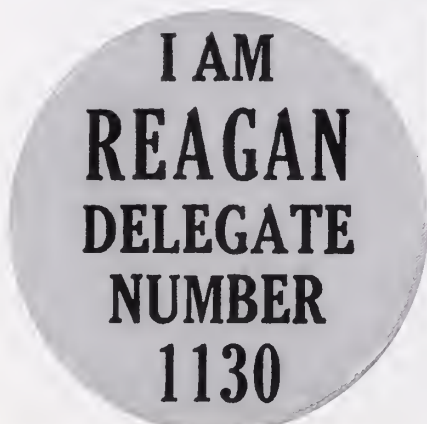
The Convention was scheduled to begin August 16 in Kansas City, Missouri, at the Kemper Arena. At this point, Ronald Reagan took a step that had been unparalleled in politics in order to attract some of the moderate pro-Ford delegates. He announced his selection of Pennsylvania Senator Richard Schweiker as his running mate. It was felt that perhaps the selection of Schweiker could persuade between 20 and 50 delegates from Pennsylvania and surrounding states to join the Reagan camp. Illinois Congressman Henry Hyde, who was a staunch conservative, stated that it was like "a farmer selling his last cow to buy a milking machine." The move backfired, and many uncommitted delegates started to pledge their loyalty to Ford.

Realizing a mistake had been made, the Reagan forces then proposed an amendment to Rule 16, called 16C. Rule 16A reads, "Candidates for the presidency shall demonstrate

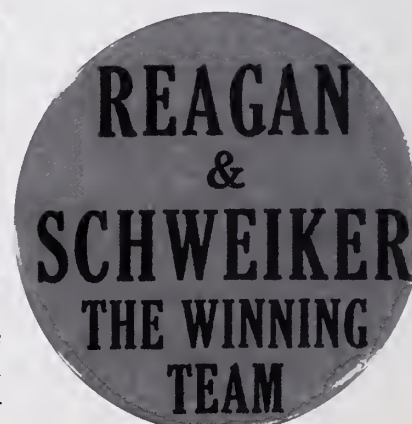
a majority support from each of five state delegations." Section B states, "In making the nominations for President and Vice President and voting thereon, in no case shall the call of the roll be dispensed with. The total time of the nominating speech and seconding speeches for any candidate for President or Vice President shall not exceed 15 minutes." Delegate Thomas B. Curtis from Missouri added a new section stating, "All persons seeking to be nominated for President under Sections A and B above, shall announce to the Convention and file with its Secretary, a declaration stating whom he or she will be recommending to the Convention as the Vice Presidential nominee. This declaration shall state the person's name and that he or she has agreed to accept such nomination. No delegate or alternate to the Convention shall be bound by any commitment of any kind, public or private, to support any presidential candidate who does not file such a declaration." The strategy was obvious that if Ford were to make a similar mistake as Reagan had, then he may alienate some of his support to the Reagan camp.

The vote for Rule 16C would be a roll call vote, and clearly the results of this vote would predict who would win the nomination. Rule 16C clearly became the battleground of the 1976 Republican Convention. One famous incident which received a lot of press at the time was an argument that then Vice President Nelson Rockefeller had with a Reagan supporter. Rocky snatched a pro-Reagan sign from this supporter. The supporter then reached over and yanked Rocky's convention phone off the cord.

As a 21-year-old page from Illinois, I was able to witness this incident and get Rockefeller's autograph. As pages, we were not supposed to fraternize with the higher elected officials and officers of the convention, a rule which I broke whenever possible. This time, since I'd spent so long at the New York delegation, I got caught by the head page and thrown off the



Reagan hoped that his naming a VP running mate before winning the presidential nomination would shake lose the small number of delegates he needed to reach the winning number of 1130 delegates.







Schweiker was thought of as a liberal – not unusual for a Pennsylvania Republican – but his anti-abortion and anti-gun control positions made him acceptable to Regan's conservative followers.

floor. I later figured out an alternative approach and spent the rest of the Convention as a platform page where it was actually my job to ferry dignitaries to and from their speeches to the Convention. In this manner, I was able to actually meet the President, Mrs. Ford, Cary Grant, Sonny Bono, and Ronald and Nancy Reagan.

Rule 16C, after a great deal of behind-the-scenes politics and arm twisting, finally did come to a vote and was defeated, 1080 votes to 1069. It was clear then that Gerald Ford would win the nomination on the first ballot. The final tally was 1187

to 1070 for Ronald Reagan. Had Ford lost the bid for Rule 16C, one of the main V.P. contenders would have been William Ruckelshaus from Indiana, who had been head of the Environmental Protection Agency and Acting Director of the FBI. He was better known for being the Deputy Attorney General and having refused to fire Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox during the Saturday Night Massacre. Others seriously considered were John Connolly from Texas; Senator Howard Baker from Tennessee; Iowa Governor Bob Ray; and Washington Governor Daniel Evans. Serious consideration was given to Anne Armstrong, former Ambassador to Great Britain, and, of course, Senator Robert Dole. Dole was ultimately chosen because Ford had angered many of the western farmers with a 1975 grain embargo to the Soviet Union, and Dole had strong farm support and support among various veterans' organizations due to his World War II service.

Many pins were available for purchase in the vendor area at the Convention. Many candidates were offered on these pins, most of them not really under consideration, but rather a reflection of that state's favorite son. The most common buttons are those produced by N. G. Slater, showing jugate photos of Reagan/Schweiker, or Ford/Connolly. Dale Button and Emblem Company produced a number of buttons supporting various candidates or Convention-specific slogans, such as, "Only Ford Can Win" and "Only Reagan Can Beat Carter." Buttons and brochures for Bob Ray and Anne Armstrong were available as giveaways at the receptions. One of the most sought-after buttons from the Convention is the Bob Dole Sunflower pin. Of course, whimsical buttons such as "Nixon for VP" and "Liz Ray for VP" were also available for those delegates with more of a sense of humor.

Ford went on to narrowly lose the election to Carter; and, of course, Reagan went on to become a two-term president. Conventions since that time have been fairly cut and dried with the nominee known long before the Convention. The 2000 Convention in Philadelphia could have been an exception with clearly the most heated primary battle since Ford battled Reagan in 1976.★

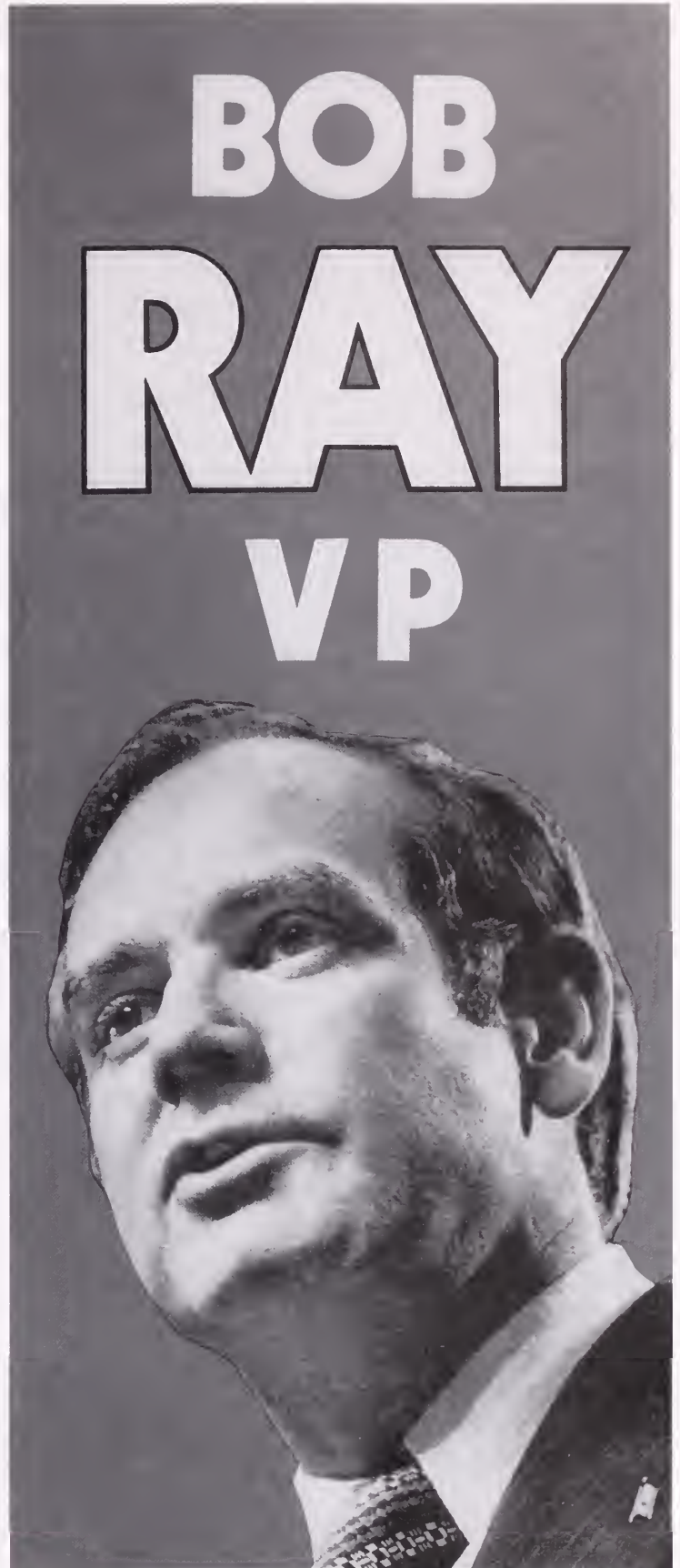
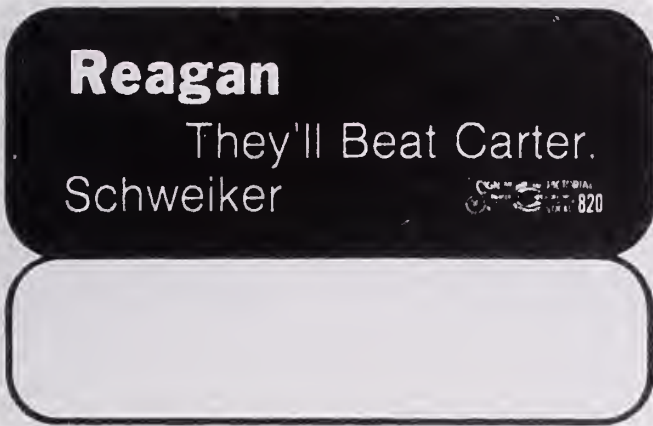


Sen. Schweiker was never considered as a running mate for Ford, although there was no shortage of other options. Oddly, this set of vendor buttons overlooked the eventual choice, Kansas Sen. Bob Dole. Note the misspelling of Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke.



Above are a variety of buttons from the 1976 Republican National Convention. The closeness of the race gave the convention some zest and produced a plethora of dream ticket buttons.





Iowa Gov. Bob Ray was seen as a strong VP possibility (at least by Iowans). His campaign produced yellow and red buttons, posters and brochures. In the middle is a Reagan/Schweiker name badge. Beneath that is a Bob Dole senatorial button worn at the 1976 convention by those boosting him as Ford's running mate.

# President Ford's #48 Retired

(reprinted from the University of Michigan paper)

The University retired the jersey number 48 of former U.S. President Gerald R. Ford '35 of Grand Rapids, Michigan, at a halftime ceremony of the Michigan State game on Oct. 8.

"Other honors that have been bestowed on me were because of my work or my efforts," Ford said of his number retirement. "But in this case I am being honored by a school where I learned skills and discipline that I used for the rest of my life."

Ford was an All-American center for the Wolverines, playing on the undefeated 1932 and '33 national champi-

onship teams. The team selected him as its most valuable player in his senior year, and he played in the College All Star and East-West Shrine games after his senior season.

After graduation from Yale Law School and four years in the U.S. Navy, Ford entered politics, first serving as a Republican member of the House of Representatives and eventually rising to the nation's highest office in 1974.

Ford said that "you had to have a thick skin" to compete in football and politics, because "in both arenas, you have arm-chair quarterbacks who will criticize you whatever you do, so you have to just do what you think is right."★



Above: Ford delegates from Maryland. Right: two joke buttons, boosting two unlikely names for VP (Ray was on the payroll of a powerful Democratic congressman but proved to have skills that weren't exactly secretarial in nature).





# The WIN Button

By Harvey Goldberg

Inflation problems have come and gone since the time of George Washington's administration. Almost a quarter of a century ago, during the 1976 presidential campaign between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, it was a key issue. There was endless talk about what was to be done but nobody seemed to have a handle on a solution that would work. As the 1974 mid-term elections neared, President Ford (recently elevated after Richard Nixon's resignation) had no more of a solution than did his predecessors. But he had a slogan: "Whip Inflation Now!" He had a button and he gave it the old college try.

On October 8, 1974, President Gerald Ford addressed a joint session of Congress. The purpose of his speech was to explain his anti-inflation program and, though the speech was far from memorable, some do remember the button he wore on his lapel. This was the birth of the WIN button.

That particular pin, worn by the President during his presentation, is the "big prize" (I dubbed it WIN button #1) and would be the key item in any WIN collection. (Yes, there are WIN collectors!) Whether they are considered an oddity or an aside, they are still a part of our political history. The specific button worn by Gerald Ford has not been seen since 1974. Following his speech, Ford gave the pin to House doorkeeper William "Fishbait" Miller. Miller then gave it to Senator Charles Percy. The following day Percy wore it on NBC-TV's Today Show. On October 18, 1974, press secretary Ron Nessen was wearing WIN button

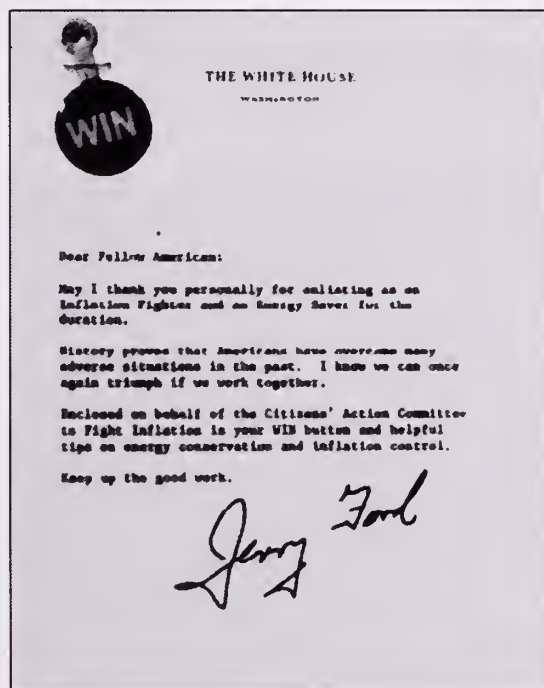
#1 when he gave the morning news briefing. Old #1 has not been seen in public since.

Ford's WIN campaign bore a striking similarity to the old school spirit: there was a little bit of rah-rah. Just pin on a button, slap on a sticker, wave a pennant. Drive inflation out with spirit! The effort inspired a brief period of enthusiasm but did little to bolster the economy and the early enthusiasm soon faded. In fact, today it seems rather humorous. It has been said that WIN buttons and related memorabilia are stored in the National Archives' lower vaults along with other historical materials from such events as Custer's Last Stand, Howard Hughes' Spruce Goose and the Edsel.

The WIN Campaign has been compared to Franklin D. Roosevelt's National Recovery Act (NRA) – symbolized by the "blue eagle" – that was eventually declared unconstitutional. In essence, Ford was attempting to play the same "mind games" with the citizenry that FDR had done half a century earlier. Times were different, of course, and the situation was much more desperate during the end of the Depression than it was for President Ford. The Whip Inflation Now campaign produced more than a surprisingly large number of WIN items, which have become a collecting sidelight to the politics of the Mid-Seventies.

Whether we consider them to be "cause" items, "campaign items," or something in between, WIN items were produced by different companies, radio and TV stations, and service organizations from around the country. Most were in the basic red and white colors, while others strayed to more exotic variations.

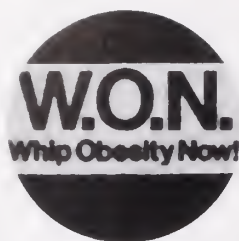
The Simi Valley (California) Jaycees were the first to produce any quantity of the now familiar item. New York advertising firm Don Howard Associates may have been second. The day after Ford's address, that firm announced it would produce 100,000 buttons and send them to the



WIN Response Letter from the White House. By this time they had run out of buttons and were sending TABS.



Basic-style WIN buttons came in celluloid and litho.



The WIN campaign was popular – if brief – and was used to promote other issues as well.

White House. The Administration immediately noted that they would gladly accept the pins and set them aside for those who enlisted in the President's WIN Program by signing an "enlistment form" published in most newspapers.

By October 25, the White House announced more than 85,000 requests for WIN buttons had been received. Manufacturers went into production and by mid-November reported orders for over 14 million buttons! Businesses took up the campaign to stimulate their sales and "join the bandwagon". Estimates on the number of WIN buttons sold or given away nationwide range from 20 to 30 million, placing it second behind the all-time #1, the SMILE button.

The most common WIN button is white on red celluloid in various sizes and has the distinct "W-I-N" letters in the center. Many of the pins can be differentiated from one another only by the manufacturer's label on the curl (when it was used). Pinbacks were the most common items but specimens of earrings, pendants, necklaces, even the occasional golf ball and ballpoint pen have turned up.

Patriotic variations appeared: stars & stripes, color combinations, varied interpretations, and of course, advertising. WIN "offspring" appeared such as the SIN button (Stop Inflation Now), BATH (Back Again to Hoover), LOSE (Let's Oppose Stupid Expenditures), etc. When the Ford Motor Company took advantage of the namesake by putting out pins telling people to "WIN WITH [a] FORD, Chevrolet wasn't far behind, telling buyers to whip inflation with a '75 Chevy at '74 prices.

But in spite of the sensational beginning, within four months, President Ford's "Whip Inflation Now" campaign was finished. WIN buttons and other memorabilia (T-shirts, bumper stickers, pennants, etc.) all but disappeared, leaving a small number of collectors as nearly the only people who cared about them.

WIN lost momentum quickly. Maybe it was because there was little public relations follow-up from the White House. Maybe it was because of President Ford's change in priorities to fighting recession. Perhaps the WIN campaign

was just a silly, even childish and poorly conceived idea from the very start. But it was impressive. It remains impressive when decades after its demise, more and more varieties of WIN and related items continue to turn up.

Please note: Illustrations for this feature come from the WIN collection of Bonnie Gardner.★



Although the basic WIN buttons were white letters on a red background, eventually versions appeared in a variety of styles.







The WIN theme was soon found on a variety of commercial items, not surprising in a recession.

## The Ford-for-Congress Quonset Hut

As World War II ended, a generation of veterans returned home, eager to jump back into the civilian lives that had been interrupted. In politics, too, a new generation swept into office. The elections of 1946 and 1948 brought in dozens of names that would become familiar in the coming years. From Jack Kennedy and Dick Nixon, to Eugene McCarthy and Gerald Ford, young veterans quickly replaced the old men who had filled political offices during the years of depression and war.

These young men naturally carried some of their military habits with them, such as Gerald Ford's Quonset hut campaign headquarters. Essentially little more than a giant tube, Quonset huts were very simple military buildings that could be erected in a matter of hours. When Gerald Ford left the U.S. Navy and sought a seat in Congress in 1948, a shortage of available space pushed



him to use a familiar solution for his campaign HQ – a Quonset hut.

This unique piece of campaign material has been restored and can be seen at the Ford Presidential Museum in Grand Rapids, Michigan.★

# Recording History:

## President Gerald Ford and the Edison project

By Christopher Byck

The Thomas Alva Edison recording project was founded in 1999 for the purpose of recording famous people on historical equipment, very similar to a project that Thomas Edison engaged in nearly 125 years earlier. The project is based out of Edison, New Jersey, where Thomas Edison resided and worked from 1876-1883. In that town's Menlo Park section, the Edison Memorial tower now stands where Thomas Edison's laboratories once were.

The township engaged in this project through the efforts of Jack Stanley, a recording engineer and a self taught Thomas Edison expert. Jack was hired by Mayor George Spadaro of Edison to revitalize and refurbish the Edison Museum. Part of Jack's plan involved forming the Thomas Alva Edison Recording Project.

When Jack Stanley was hired, I was eighteen years old and working as an intern in the Mayor's office. Jack had all of these crazy ideas about going around the world and recording famous leaders on 120-year-old equipment. Although we all liked Jack, we thought the ideas were a bit far fetched. I went away to school in August 1999, wished Jack well and told him I would see him next summer. At that time I would never have guessed how far Jack would come with this project in only a few short months.

That October, I receive a phone call from Jack asking if I would like to join him and Mayor Spadaro on a trip to California to record Gerald R. Ford, the nation's 38th President, on original Edison equipment. The recording was scheduled for November 9th. Shocked and amazed – and without too much convincing needed – I agreed.

I immediately schedule time off from my classes for a week and patiently awaited my day of departure. The day came quicker than I had anticipated. I took a flight from New Jersey to John Wayne International Airport in Santa Ana, California. I met up with Jack and Andrew Nebus, another member of the Mayor's staff, who had flown out a few days earlier. We toured the southern part of California for several days before we met with the former President on November 9th.

On the morning of the ninth, we packed original 120-year-old Thomas Edison equipment into the car and headed out to meet with the Mayor, then on to the "Ford Compound" (not my term, it was called this by the United States Secret Service).

After picking up the Mayor we drove to the Ford Compound, which is located in Rancho Mirage. We drove down a long deserted road and came to a very large metal gate. The man standing in the guardhouse opened the gate and directed us in.

We parked the car in front of the main door and were met by many casually dressed men, who identified themselves as Secret Service. The men promptly searched



**Jack Stanley holds the speech as President Ford reads into the old equipment and Mayor George Spadaro looks on.**

through all of our equipment, which they found fascinating. We carried with us all sorts of horns, cylinders, and other odd looking apparatus. After being lead through the huge doors, we were met by President Ford's secretary and other staff members. She told us that the President's grandson was in town, so Mr. Ford could only spend about an hour with us.

The woman walked us through the office, which was hung with large photos of the President and First Lady, inaugural pictures, as well as family portraits. Of all the decorations, the most impressive was the Presidential seal on the carpet.

We were led into the President's private meeting room and were told that he would be joining us in about half an hour. This half hour was valuable time for us because we needed to set up the equipment. Andrew, Jack, and myself had spent hours and hours rehearsing the set up of these antiques and had become quick and proficient. Jack truly had the toughest job though. He not only had to insure that the recording went well, but also had to teach Andrew and me how to operate all of the apparatus.

When everything was finally in place, I opened the door to the conference room and stood in the hallway. As I stood there, I rehearsed how I would greet the President (I was obviously very excited and nervous). I said several greetings over and over until I found one I felt best suited the situation.

While refining my greeting for the President, I heard a door open behind me and there was former President Gerald R. Ford exiting his office in my direction. I completely froze. All I could say was "Hello, Sir" (which was not





**Christopher Byck, Jack Stanley and President Ford look over old Edison recording equipment.**

one of my chosen greetings). President Ford walked into the meeting room and greeted the entire group.

President Ford sat down with the Mayor and started to talk about his grandson. He talked for nearly fifteen minutes about all sorts of personal aspects of his life. President Ford talked about how he swims several laps a day in his pool and works out regularly. He told us how bad a golfer his grandson was and how he was teaching him the game.

Ford asked the Mayor all sorts of questions about Edison and the Mayor's political career. Ford even commented on the New Jersey Senate race. President Ford was extremely knowledgeable about the Senate race in New Jersey, which I found to be very impressive. I kept thinking, "Why would a former President who lives in California care about the Senate race in New Jersey?"

After twenty minutes of light conversation, Jack asked the President if he would like to begin the recording. President Ford agreed and took from his pocket some text to read into the machine. I was amazed at what the President chose to read; he read the speech he used when he was presented with the Congressional Gold Medal a month earlier. I am sure many remember watching it on television. It was the same speech that he made before President Clinton and both houses of Congress.

To me, being in the presence of this man while he delivered this speech was a true honor. He read the words with the same expression and feeling as he did that day before Congress. I do not feel he could have chosen better words to speak into the phonograph to be recorded forever.

Upon completion of the first recording, President Ford continued to engage in conversation with the Mayor, however this time about politics. The Mayor asked many questions about Ford's career. The conversation dipped into the Warren Commission, his short tenure as Vice President, his predecessor Richard Nixon (the only subject about which he spoke briefly), John F. Kennedy, and the subject he spoke most about, his years in the United States Congress. Ford spoke of his desire to be the Speaker of the House.

Gerald Ford then made a second recording of the same

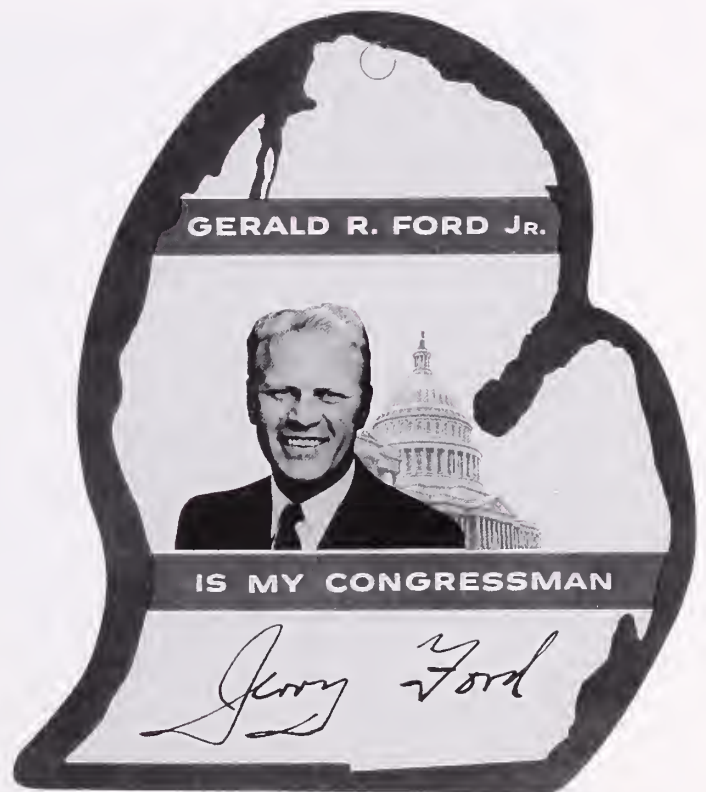
speech. This time while the cylinder wax cooled (the wax must cool and harden before it can be played on the phonograph), Ford showed us around the meeting room where various pictures lined the walls. The photos were amazing. One photo was personally inscribed from President Eisenhower to Congressman Ford. Another photo was of former Presidents, Truman, Kennedy, Eisenhower and Johnson all lined up in a row. Ford took the most pride in the photo of him as President addressing a joint session of Congress.

Before we listened to President Ford's recording, we were going to listen to Theodore Roosevelt, the last president to record on Edison equipment, approximately 87 years ago.

President Ford was very amazed that this was the last President to be involved in such a project. President Roosevelt had a very light and soft voice; not something you would imagine from the Rough Rider and "tough" President. Ford was astonished at these characteristics in his voice. Ford also joked that Roosevelt's speech could still be used today.

It was truly amazing to be in the room while the twenty sixth President spoke to the thirty eighth President. Finally, with one last comment about how amazing this equipment was, it was time to end our session. The President bid us farewell and left us to go improve his grandson's golf game.

While exiting the meeting room a dog ran into the office. I was very amazed to see an animal in such a formal office, but following the dog was Betty Ford, chasing after the dog. I said "Good morning Mrs. Ford" and walked out of the front door, smiling, carrying a phonograph.★



**Congressional cardboard hanger (reduced).**

THE ISSUE IS  
**TRUMAN'S  
RECORD**  
NOTHING ELSE!

## Azerbaijan: Harry Holds That Line

By Dr. Sidney Brown



The various excellent publications associated with our hobby have over the years contained a number of articles on President Truman and the onset of the Cold War. Bookshelves all over the United States (not to mention "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic") groan under an increasing weight of works devoted to the subject. In the main such factors as Yalta, Potsdam, Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech and, of course, the Truman Doctrine are stressed, but what of Iran?

Just over fifty years ago a photograph was taken of President Truman and the Shah of Iran leaving the MATS Terminal, Washington DC on November 17, 1949. As always Harry looks his usual cheerful and resilient self and the Shah looks both remarkably young and very different from the care-worn tragic figure which we recall in the 1970s.

Yet, as usual in politics, appearances can be deceptive. For the previous three years had, as we know, been a "tough sled" for both and it's worth pursuing this a little further for it can provide us with a refreshingly new dimension to the conventional approach which places such emphasis on the "new"

direction exemplified by the so-called "Truman Doctrine".

The early part of 1946 was, indeed, to witness quite confrontational stances taken by an increasingly tougher American administration which, co-incidentally, was to be pursued at the same time as the more newsworthy Fulton speech was to occupy the front pages.

Contrary to popular myth, not all Americans viewed Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, given in Truman's presence in Fulton, Missouri, with enthusiasm. Eleanor Roosevelt chided her late husband's wartime associate for implying that the English-speaking peoples could get along "without the far greater number of people who are not English-speaking" whilst Churchill's subsequent appearance in New York was greeted by leftist pickets shouting "Don't be a ninny for imperialist Winnie" to anyone who would care to listen.

The Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe is a well-known story and Truman's specific mention of Greece and Turkey in the "Doctrine" appeal he made in 1947 is also an often plowed furrow.







A button used by pro-Shah demonstrators when the Shah visited President Carter. Anti-Shah demonstrators attacked the White House, forcing police to use tear gas. Tear gas drifted across the White House lawn, disrupting welcoming ceremonies.

Yet in his first year in the White House Truman (and Secretary of State Byrnes) soon realized that Stalin was prepared to probe and test the United States in the region of Azerbaijan in northern Iran.

Convincingly Truman argued that the implications of the Iran crisis were widespread. Turkey would be "out-flanked" by the Soviets in the east, Iran's rich oil deposits would, if they were to fall into Russian hands, change the "raw-material balance of the world" and, most significantly, the newly formed United Nations would appear to be an organization easily bypassed if it suited Stalin's schemes.

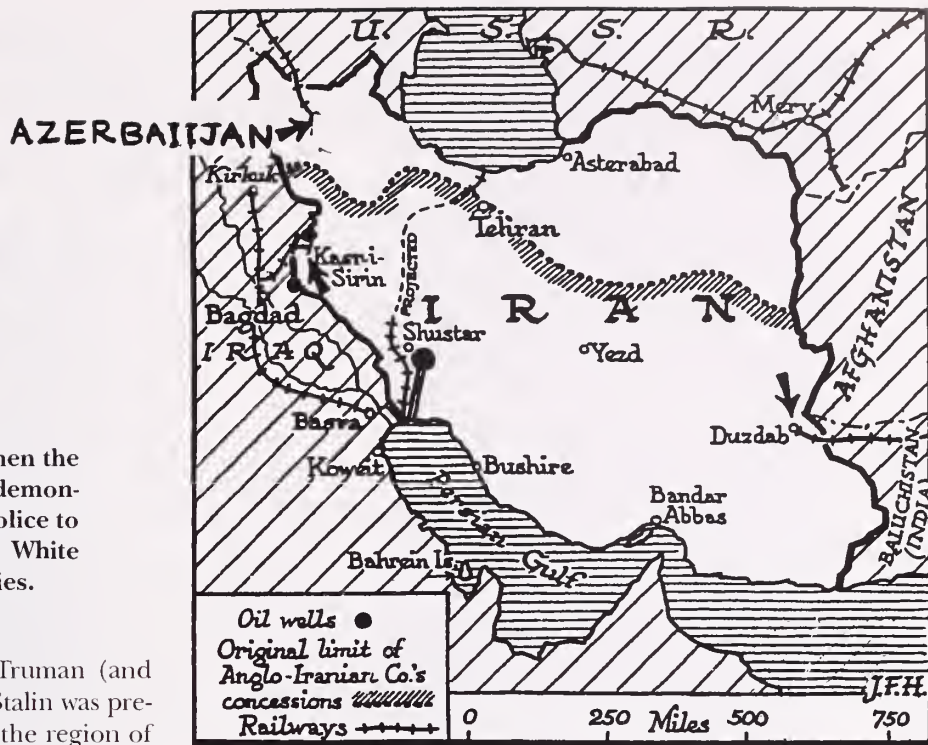
In the President's own phrase "a blunt message" was sent to Stalin and on March 24, 1946 the latter agreed to withdraw.

Between 1947-52 events in Iran constituted great challenges to the United States as hostility to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company increased. This led to the 1951 demands of Prime Minister Mossaddegh for nationalization. According to one historian the volatile situation was eventually resolved by a CIA orchestrated coup which had, by 1954, deposed Mossaddegh and given the Shah a stronger role with a resulting enhanced pro-American atmosphere in Teheran.

The formation of the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO) which included Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan and, importantly, Iran in 1955 has been viewed as an integral part of the NATO/SEATO effort to galvanize the non-Communist world into an often tricky "unity" against the Soviet threat in the so-called "Unquiet Years" which characterized the depths of the Cold War.

The subsequent history of United States relations with Iran continue to be hotly debated among the historians. How far the Shah, for example, could be seen as a "Western puppet" (to use the usual Soviet phrase of the 1950s) is a question most frequently asked.

The importance of the Iranian crisis was clearly evident if Truman's Memoirs are studied. Chapter 7 is starkly headed "In early 1946 Russian activities in Iran threatened the peace of the world." Because Russia refused to follow the American example of troop withdrawal, despite agreeing to



it at the London Conference of September 1945, it would appear that a sharply chilly early touch of frost was evident in the Cold War well before the well-known "key events".

In a sense the 1945-46 Iranian crisis and Truman's tough stand uncannily anticipated much of the later more well known history of his firm diplomacy epitomized by the "Truman Doctrine" and demonstrated by the Berlin Airlift. Could the Shah be saying "Thanks" to that very unpretentious and undoubted non-royal from Missouri who, after all these years, remains a genuine "prince among men" for his enduring qualities?★





# Clement L. Vallandigham: Exiled Candidate for Governor of Ohio

By Steve Baxley

*"Hurrah for Brough and Abraham, and a rope to hang Vallandigham!"*

*- Ohio Union (Republican) Party*

*We want our rights. We must be free. Vallandigham and Liberty."*

*- Ohio Democratic Party*

Many historians have called the 1864 election the most crucial election in American political history. Free elections in the midst of a bloody civil war determined whether the fight to preserve the Union would continue. Another important test for the Lincoln administration had occurred a year earlier in Ohio. This contest was more than a battle between Democrat Clement L. Vallandigham and Union Party candidate John Brough. It determined whether the nation would in the words of Vallandigham, return to "the Union it was,



Vallandigham CDV.



the Constitution as it is," or accept social and political change.

The unique circumstances of allowing free speech while fighting a civil war created problems for the Lincoln Administration. How far could free speech be allowed without becoming treasonous? Democrats used this situation to criticize Lincoln for abusing civil liberties. Democrats were especially angered by the Indemnity Bill, which suspended the writ of habeas corpus. As a Congressman, Vallandigham helped delay this bill in 1862, but it passed in 1863. Vallandigham also opposed the Emancipation Proclamation, feeling that it changed the war's purpose and made reconciliation with the South more difficult. In his speech against the Indemnity Bill in 1862, Vallandigham called for "an informal, practical recognition of the Confederacy, mediation by a friendly foreign power, and concessions aimed at eventual reunion." He asked for the withdrawal of Northern armies from the seceded states. Vallandigham was a Peace Democrat. Their opponents called them poisonous copperhead snakes.

On April 13, 1863, General Ambrose Burnside issued General Order No. 38. Anyone with the "habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy" would be arrested and subject to military procedure without any rights in the civil courts. This action enraged Vallandigham, but also created an opportunity. He would gain the Democratic nomination for



Governor of Ohio by becoming a martyr.

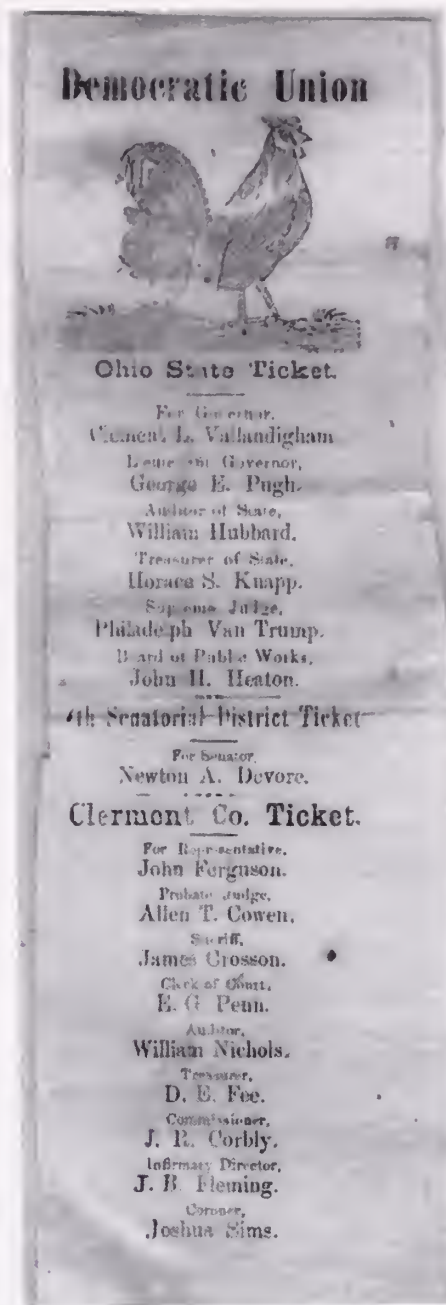
Burnside heard about Vallandigham's criticism of his order and wanted documentation that his orders had been defied. Burnside sent 10 men in plain clothes to observe and take notes on a speech Vallandigham gave on May 1, 1863 in Mount Vernon, Ohio. He gave them plenty to write about as he railed against the abuses of the Lincoln administration for over 2 hours. He was arrested at his home on the evening of May 4, 1863. Vallandigham's counsel for the trial was George Hunt Pendleton, George E. Pugh, and Edward A. Ferguson. After a brief trial, the military commission found Vallandigham guilty. The judge sentenced him to be "placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States, to be designated by the commanding officer of the Department, there to be kept during the continuance of the war." Burnside picked Fort Warren in Boston Harbor.

President Lincoln discussed the Vallandigham case with his cabinet on May 1, 1863. They decided to support Burnside in his arrest of Vallandigham, but changed his sentence to exile to the Confederacy. They feared imprisoning Vallandigham would make him a martyr. Sending him to the South would associate him with the enemy. But Burnside's arrest of Vallandigham made him a major contender for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in Ohio. Before the controversy, most party leaders had wanted Hugh H. Jewett, who had been the nominee for governor 2 years earlier.

On July 11, the Ohio Democratic State Convention nominated Vallandigham as its candidate for governor. George Pugh, who had been one of the counsels for Vallandigham during his trial, was named the candidate for lieutenant governor. The Convention appointed a Committee of Nineteen, with one representative from each of Ohio's congressional districts to meet with President Lincoln and demand Vallandigham's release. Lincoln insisted that they make their case in writing and it was delivered to him on



Vallandigham CDV



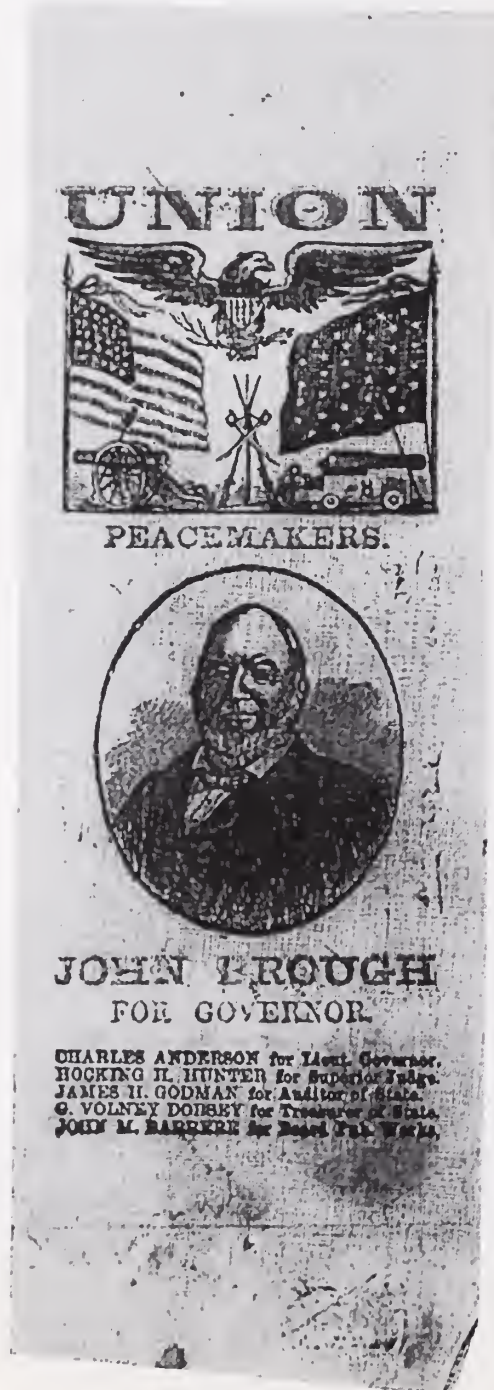
Vallandigham-Pugh ballot.

June 26. Lincoln's reply cited his concern for "public safety" as more important than protecting irresponsible acts of individuals. It was a powerful response, but success by U.S. Grant and George Meade on the battlefield was the real deathblow to Copperheads.

Vallandigham made the following statement upon arrival in the Confederacy, "I am a citizen of Ohio, and of the United States. I am here within your lines by force and against my will. I therefore surrender myself to you as a prisoner of war." Vallandigham was a man without a country. The Confederacy wanted independence. Vallandigham wanted compromise and "the Union as it was." Vallandigham stayed in the Confederacy for 24 days and labeled "an alien enemy" was placed on a blockade-runner headed for Canada. Vallandigham would run his campaign for governor of Ohio from Canada.



Above: John Brough CDV.  
Below: Brough campaign ribbon.



The Union Party nominated a former Democrat, John A. Brough, as its candidate for governor of Ohio. The Democrats distributed tracts and propaganda pamphlets throughout the state. *Peace Democracy, alias the Copperheads*, was particularly popular. All postmasters were Republicans, and they used their power to provide names to the Republican State Committee and distribute Republican pamphlets. The Union Leagues provided reading rooms with campaign literature. Brough's running mate, Colonel Charles Anderson was from Dayton, as was Vallandigham, but had won honors on the battlefield. Anderson could use his military service to attack Vallandigham's peace appeals. Democratic newspapers like the *Dayton Journal* called Vallandigham "invincible in peace, invisible in war."

During the campaign, Vallandigham was associated with the New York City Draft Riots, Morgan's raid, and Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania. Republicans also used conspiracy theories to raise voter fear of a fifth column in the North. Revisionist historians now believe that talk about a paramilitary organization, the Knights of the Golden Circle, was a concoction designed to make voters fear Copperheads as traitors.

Meanwhile, Democrats called the Republicans the Abolitionist Party or Black Republican Party and used race baiting as an attack method. Democratic banners proclaimed, "Protect Us from Negro Equality." German and Irish Democrats were warned about the effects of free slaves on the labor market. Democrats stressed Vallandigham's stand on constitutional rights, appealing to those who were weary of the war effort and saw Lincoln's administration as a step towards military despotism. Many Midwest voters felt oppressed economically by New England's expanding power. Voters in the Midwest resented high railroad rates, excise taxes on whiskey, and high tariffs. Brough, a railroad president, was portrayed as a tool of railroad monopolists, speculators, and army contractors.

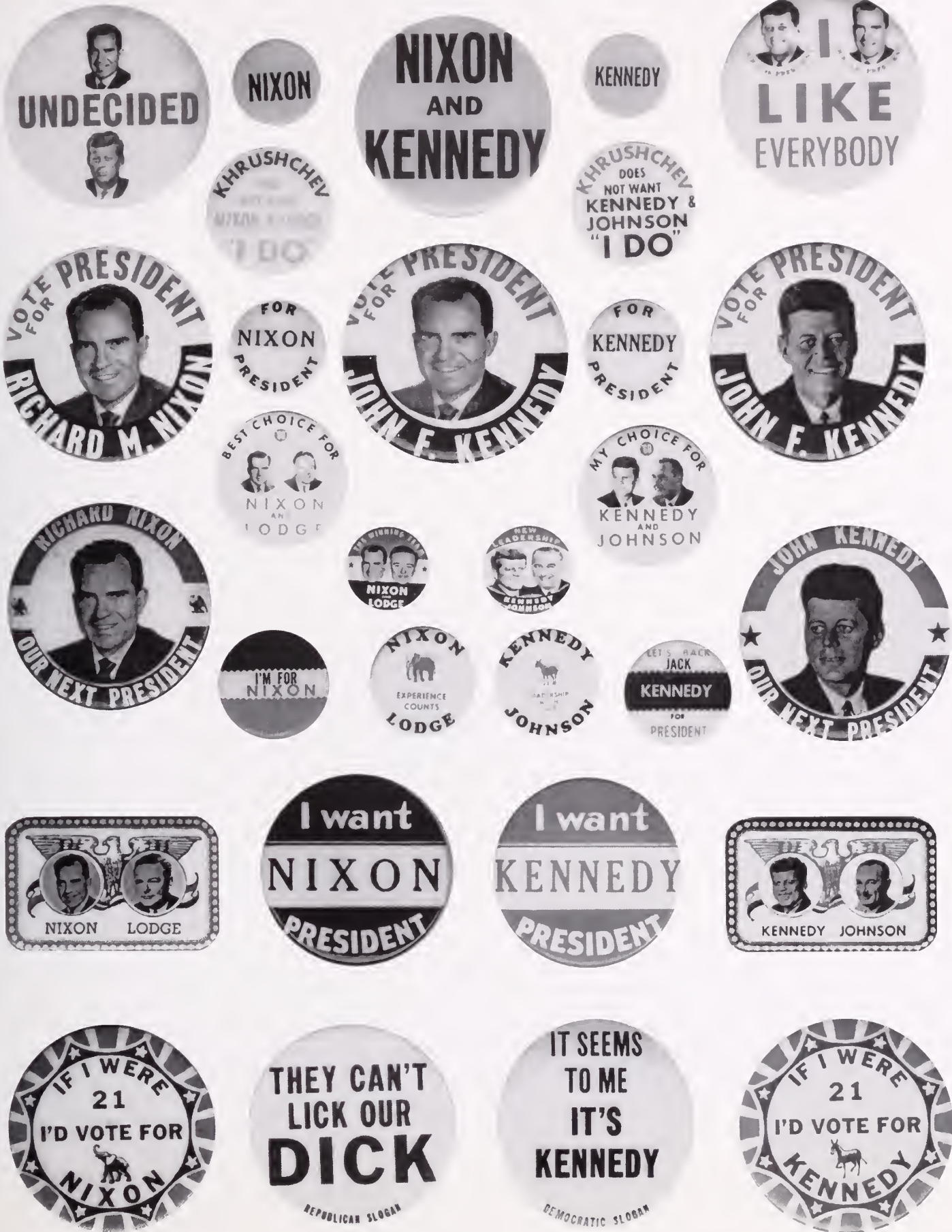
The Democrats got a small boost when William A. Anderson, brother of the Union candidate for lieutenant governor, called Vallandigham courageous and endorsed his views. He called his brother "a political apostate."

Along with some campaign ribbons, the Ohio campaign produced several interesting items, including a *Vallandigham Songbook* published in 1863. Reports about a Democratic rally in Dayton on September 7 indicate that the following slogans appeared on banners carried by demonstrators: "Vallandigham, Pugh, and Peace," "Fathers and Brothers, protect us from Despotism and Negro Equality," "The Union as it was, the Constitution as it is," "LINCOLN'S BASTILLE," "Peace," "Equal and Exact Justice for All Men," "Vallandigham, the People's and Tyrant's Foe," "Vote for Val and Liberty," "Vallandigham, Martyr to Freedom of Speech," "Vallandigham, Our Friend and Hero," "Down with Tyranny." Are any of these banners still in the Dayton area?

On Tuesday, October 13, John Brough defeated Clement L. Vallandigham by 100,000 votes. Lincoln and the Union League had met the first great test. Lincoln's next test would be against one of his own generals, George McClellan, in 1864. Many of the issues in that campaign would reflect those raised in the 1863 Ohio race for Governor.★



Matched Pairs From 1960



**The Man  
America Needs!**



**Philip M. Crane  
President • 1980**